

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 IO-13 /074 W

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O R 241840Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1298

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 14136

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, GE, US, UK, FR, UR

SUBJECT: ALLIED PROTEST ON OBSTRUCTION OF TRANSIT  
TO BERLIN

REFS: (A) STATE 209296; (B) BONN 14057;

(C) USBERLIN 1752

BEGIN SUMMARY:

PROGRESS ON PREPARATION OF AN ALLIED PROTEST TO THE  
SOVIETS OVER THE AUGUST 13 TRANSIT INCIDENTS HAS COME  
TO A HALT BECAUSE OF A FRENCH PROPOSAL TO DELETE WHAT  
US, UK, AND FRG REPS CONSIDER THE CRUCIAL ELEMENTS OF  
THE DRAFT PROTEST. FRENCH REP IS REPORTING SITUATION  
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TO PARIS BUT IS UNABLE TO PREDICT FRENCH REACTION.

FRUSTRATED BY CONTINUING ALLIED DELAY, FRG IS  
WEIGHING ADVISABILITY OF A BILATERAL DEMARCHE TO THE  
FRENCH.  
END SUMMARY

TEXT OF PROTEST

1. AT THE AUGUST 24 BONN GROUP MEETING, US REP AND FRG  
REP (HENZE) REPORTED AGREEMENT OF THEIR AUTHORITIES  
TO REVISED TEXT SENT TO DEPARTMENT IN PARA 8, REF (B).
2. UK REP (CARTER) NOTED LONDON'S GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF  
THE TEXT WITH TWO PROPOSED "DRAFTING" CHANGES,  
AS FOLLOWS:

-- IN FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA A, "TRANSIT WAYS"  
SHOULD BE CHANGED TO "TRANSIT ROUTES" (ALL OTHER REPS  
ACCEPTED THIS CHANGE).

-- FINAL SENTENCE IN PARA B WAS "TOO CATEGORICAL"  
AND SHOULD BE MODIFIED IN ONE OF THE THREE FOLLOWING  
WAYS:

- A. IT COULD BE DROPPED.
- B. IT COULD BE CHANGED TO READ: "ANY SUCH  
IMPEDIMENT OF TRANSIT TRAFFIC CONSTITUTES A CLEAR VIO-  
LATION OF THE QA."
- C. THE SENTENCE COULD BE INTRODUCED WITH THE  
PHRASE, "IN THE VIEW OF THE (BLANK) GOVERNMENT,..."

3. RESPONDING TO BRITISH INSTRUCTIONS, US AND FRG REPS  
EXPRESSED VIEW THAT ANY OF THE ABOVE CHANGES IN  
PARA B WOULD UNNECESSARILY WEAKEN THE TEXT. CARTER THEN  
SAID HE THOUGHT LONDON WOULD BE SATISFIED IF ONLY THE  
WORD "THEREFORE" WERE DROPPED. US AND FRG REPS ACCEPTED  
THIS MODIFICATION, AS DID CARTER.

4. MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS WERE RAISED BY FRENCH  
INSTRUCTIONS. FRENCH REP (LASSUS) SAID THAT HE HAD  
FAILED "TO SELL THE TEXT TO PARIS." WHILE HE STILL HAD  
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NO WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS, HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY PHONE THAT  
THE QUAI AT A HIGH LEVEL -- POLITICAL DIRECTOR --  
WANTED A SHORT TEXT. IT SHOULD STATE ONLY THAT A  
VIOLATION HAD OCCURRED: "THE SHORTER THE STRONGER."  
PARIS THEREFORE COULD APPROVE THE TEXT ONLY WITH THE  
DELETION OF SENTENCE 3 OF PARA A -- "THERE IS AMPLE  
EVIDENCE, ETC." -- AND SENTENCE 2 OF PARA B -- "THERE IS  
NO JUSTIFICATION, ETC."

5. UK, US, AND FRG REPS WERE UNANIMOUS IN  
OBJECTING TO THE FRENCH PROPOSAL. CARTER (UK) POINTED  
OUT THAT WE WOULD LEAVE OURSELVES QUITE "VULNERABLE" IF  
WE SENT A PROTEST ALONG THE LINES PARIS DESIRED. THE  
SOVIETS WOULD REPLY THAT THE TURNBACK OF TRAVELERS WAS  
FULLY JUSTIFIED BECAUSE OF SUSPICION OF MISUSE OF THE  
TRANSIT ROUTES, AND THEN THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO GET

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 14136

INTO AN ARGUMENT OVER THE EVIDENCE ADDUCED BY THE GDR  
IN THE TRANSIT COMMISSION. US REP ADDED THAT IT WOULD

BE MUCH BETTER FOR US TO MAKE THE CENTRAL POINT NOW, THAT THE REAL GDR MOTIVE WAS DISLIKE OF WHAT THE TRAVELERS INTENDED TO DO IN BERLIN, THAN TO SAVE THAT ARGUMENT FOR RESPONDING TO A SOVIET REPLY CONCERNING EVIDENCE OF INTENDED "MISUSE" OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES.

6. HENZE SAID HE WAS QUITE "CONCERNED" BY FRENCH INSTRUCTIONS. WE HAD AGREED AT THE START THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE GDR ACTION WAS CENTRAL TO THE ALLIED PROTEST.  
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7. UK, US, AND FRG REPS SAID THAT THEY WOULD REPORT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL TO THEIR AUTHORITIES BUT CERTAINLY COULD NOT RECOMMEND ITS ACCEPTANCE. LASSUS SAID HE WOULD REPORT THE SITUATION TO PARIS.

LEVEL OF PROTEST

8. LASSUS SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN PARIS' INSISTENCE ON DELIVERY BY THE POLAD IN BERLIN. ON BASIS OF INSTRUCTION IN REF A, US REP THEREFORE SAID THAT, WHILE US STILL CONSIDERED THE VIOLATION CALLED FOR A PROTEST AT A HIGHER LEVEL, WE WOULD IN THE INTEREST OF PROMPT AGREEMENT GO ALONG WITH DELIVERY IN BERLIN. US REP ADDED THAT WASHINGTON'S CONCURRENCE IN THIS COMPROMISE HAD BEEN COUPLED WITH APPROVAL OF THE BONN GROUP DRAFT TEXT AND THAT HE ASSUMED DEPARTMENT WOULD WISH TO RECONSIDER THE QUESTION IF DRAFTING HAD TO BE REOPENED. (HENZE HAD OBSERVED THAT THE SORT OF TEXT THE FRENCH NOW WANTED MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE FOR A FOREIGN MINISTER TO HAND TO A SOVIET AMBASSADOR, BUT WOULD BE RIDICULOUS WHEN DELIVERED BY THE POLAD).

9. US REP ADDED THAT DELIVERY IN BERLIN WOULD OF COURSE REQUIRE MINOR MODIFICATION OF FIRST LINE OF BONN GROUP TEXT TO INDICATE THAT POLAD WAS SPEAKING FOR ALL THREE ALLIES. HE ALSO SAID HE ASSUMED THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION IF POLAD DELIVERED PROTEST IN NOTE FORM, RATHER THAN MORE CUSTOMARY ORAL STATEMENT WITH TEXT HANDED OVER AS NON-PAPER. LASSUS AND CARTER THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION TO A NOTE BUT WOULD PUT QUESTION TO CAPITALS.

PRESS HANDLING

10. CONCERNING A PRESS LINE ON THE PROTEST, THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF GETTING OUR CASE BEFORE THE PUBLIC, GIVEN THE FACT -- AS POINTED

OUT BY USBER (REF C) -- THAT THE SOVIETS AND EAST  
GERMANS HAVE ALREADY SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY THEIR ACTIONS  
PUBLICLY. US REP NOTED WE COULD DO SO BY RESPONDING  
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SUBSTANTIVELY AND FAIRLY FULLY TO THE QUESTIONS WHICH  
WOULD INEVITABLY FOLLOW THE DELIVERY OF THE PROTEST TO  
SOVIETS. CARTER VOLUNTEERED TO PREPARE DRAFT PRESS  
GUIDANCE, IN QUESTION AND ANSWER FORMAT, WHICH COULD BE  
USED BY CHAIRMAN PRESS SPOKESMAN IN BERLIN. THE BONN  
GROUP WILL CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF PRESS HANDLING MORE  
FULLY ONCE AGREEMENT ON A PROTEST IS REACHED.

11. US REP SUGGESTED BONN GROUP ALSO CONSIDER THE  
DESIRABILITY OF BRIEFING NATO ALLIES ON AUGUST 13  
INCIDENTS AND ALLIED REACTIONS. THIS QUESTION ALSO  
WILL BE CONSIDERED AT A LATER MEETING.

12. THE NEXT MEETING IS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR  
10:00 A.M. WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25, SUBJECT TO FRENCH  
REP'S RECEIVING FRESH WORD FROM PARIS BY THAT TIME.

13. COMMENT: THE FRENCH POSITION LEAVES THE GERMANS  
INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED. LUECKING OF FONOFF CALLED US  
REP AFTER THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING TO ASK WHAT COULD BE  
DONE TO CHANGE FRENCH POSITION, WHICH WOULD DEPRIVE  
ALLIED PROTEST OF ALL MEANING AND PRODUCED FURTHER  
DELAYS. HE NOTED THAT THE GDR WOULD PROBABLY AGREE TO  
A MEETING OF THE TRANSIT COMMISSION ON AUGUST 26 OR 27.  
IT WOULD BE AN UNFORTUNATE SITUATION FOR THE FRG TO BE  
CHARGING THE GDR WITH A VIOLATION IN THE TRANSIT  
COMMISSION IF THERE WERE NO SIMULTANEOUS PROTEST TO THE  
SOVIETS FROM THE ALLIES. IN ADDITION, IT HAD BEEN  
APPARENT AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING OF THE  
GERMAN COMMITTEE OF THE BUNDESTAG THAT THE OPPOSITION  
WAS FURIOUS BECAUSE NOTHING WAS HAPPENING;

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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 14136

EVERYONE WAS WAITING. LUECKING ALSO ALLUDED TO GENSCHER'S UPCOMING MEETING WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN (AUGUST 26) AND HIS DESIRE TO BE ABLE TO REFER TO THE ALLIED PROTEST THEN. LUECKING SAID THE FRG WAS CONSIDERING A BILATERAL DEMARCHE TO THE FRENCH (POSSIBLY BY GEHLHOFF TO FRENCH AMBASSADOR) AND ASKED OUR VIEWS. EMBOFF SAID HE WAS UNABLE TO PREDICT SUCCESS OF SUCH A DEMARCHE, AS ISSUE COULD IN PART BE A FUNCTION OF BROADER FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

14. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY SPECULATED, THE FRENCH POSITION ON THE PROTEST MAY BE CONNECTED WITH  
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SAUVAGNARGUES' DESIRE TO GO THROUGH WITH AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES WITH THE SOVIETS ON THE SEPTEMBER 3 ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE QA. THE FRENCH BONN GROUP REP INQUIRED EARLIER TODAY WHETHER WE HAD RECEIVED ANY RESPONSE TO THE DEMARCHE MADE BY AMBASSADOR WORMSER ON THAT SUBJECT (BONN 13962). THE UK EMBASSY RECEIVED

NEGATIVE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE MATTER LATE THIS AFTER-  
NOON. THEY ARE TO INFORM THE FRENCH THAT  
SAUVAGNARGUES' INSISTENCE ON A MESSAGE EXCHANGE  
OVERLOOKED RECENT DIFFICULTIES, BUT THAT AN ALLIED  
REJECTION OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL COULD BE MODERATED,  
WHEN IT WAS GIVEN THE SOVIETS, WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT  
IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO EXCHANGE MESSAGES ON  
NEXT JUNE'S ANNIVERSARY IF THE SITUATION WERE QUIETER  
BY THEN.  
HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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